

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4358

EXDIS

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM SHERER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: MINIMUM ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION

REF: MADRID 4339

1. SUMMARY. REFTEL GAVE INSTRUCTIONS FOR INITIAL NAC DISCUSSION OF CSCE RESULTS. IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST MADE DURING OUR CONVERSATION IN MUNICH, THIS TELEGRAM SUMMARIZES THE VIEWS OF US DEL CSCE ON WHAT MIGHT CONSTITUTE MINIMUM ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CSCE CONCLUSION, AND MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HANDLING OF FURTHER NATO CONSULTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT. END SUMMARY.

2. TRANSMITTED BELOW IS OUR SUMMARY OF MINIMAL ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO CSCE. WE HAVE SEPARATED U.S. AND ALLIED DESIDERATA, SINCE THEY ARE NOT ALWAYS THE SAME AND IN SOME CASES CONFLICT. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT EACH OF THE POINTS WE HAVE DEFINED DEPENDS ON THE PHRASEOLOGY WHICH CAN BE AGREED UPON BY ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS, AND THE GENERAL CONTEXT IN WHICH IT WILL APPEAR. FOR THIS REASON WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT NATO CONSULTATIONS BE DIRECTED TOWARD AN AGREED DEFINITION OF ESSENTIALS, RATHER THAN AGREED NATO TEXTS. WE BELIEVE

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THAT AN ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT AGREED TEXTS AWAY FROM THE

NEGOTIATING SITUATION COULD HINDER RATHER THAN PROMOTE PROGRESS, AND WE WOULD PREFER TO DEVELOP TEXTS AS NECESSARY IN GENEVA.

3. BASKET I - PRINCIPLES.

(DOCUMENTS: SOVIET I/3, YUGOSLAV I/28, FRENCH A/12; KEY ALLIES, FRG, FRANCE)

(A) FOR THE U.S. AND NATO ALLIES:

(1) PROTECTION OF LEGAL POSITIONS--ON FOUR POWER RIGHTS IN BERLIN AND GERMANY, THE BALTIC STATES AND OUTSTANDING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS.

(2) NO LEGAL OBLIGATIONS--A DOCUMENT WHICH IS A POLITICAL STATEMENT OF INTENT AND DOES NOT SET FORTH LEGAL OBLIGATIONS.

(3) HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS--A SATISFACTORY PRINCIPLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND AVOIDANCE OF ANY LANGUAGE WHICH NEGATES BASKET III AGREEMENTS.

(B) FOR NATO ALLIES:

(1) NO SUPERIOR STATUS--AVOIDANCE OF A SUPERIOR STATUS FOR THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

(C) FOR FRANCE:

(1) ANTI-BREXHNNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE--FORMULATIONS WHICH CLEARLY REFUTE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.

(D) FOR THE FRG:

(1) PEACEFUL CHANGE--SATISFACTORY FORMULATIONS ON PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS AND THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE PRINCIPLES.

(2) SELF-DETERMINATION--A SATISFACTORY PRINCIPLE ON SELF-DETERMINATION.

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4. BASKET I - MILITARY ASPECTS.

(DOCUMENT: C/119; KEY ALLIES: UK, FRG)

(A) FOR U.S.:

(1) MINIMUM SECURITY CONTENT--NO MILITARY DISADVANTAGE AND LOWEST POSSIBLE LEVEL OF COMMITMENT.

(2) MEDITERRANEAN--NO EXTENSION OF CBM'S TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

(B) FOR U.S. AND NATO ALLIES:

(1) DISARMAMENT--NO COMMITMENTS ON DISARMAMENT.

(2) MBFR--NO LINKAGE TO MBFR.

(C) FOR NATO ALLIES:

(1) THREE MEANINGFUL CBM'S--PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJORITY MILITARY MANEUVERS; EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS; EXCHANGES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(2) MOVEMENTS--A TEXT OF CONCLUSION OF CSCE STUDY OF QUESTION OF NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, WITHOUT REFERRAL TO FOLLOW-UP.

(3) PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVERS--

A. DEFINITION - LAND FORCES OR COMBINED MANEUVERS.

B. THRESHOLD - EITHER 20,000 - 25,000 MEN OR TWO DIVISIONS OR MORE.

C. AREA - "ALL OF EUROPE" WITH EXCEPTIONS AMOUNTING TO 500 KILOMETERS FROM WESTERN SOVIET FRONTIER.

D. TIME FOR NOTIFICATION - 30 DAYS.

E. CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION - AGREEMENT ALMOST REACHED
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(GENEVA 3646).

F. NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES - NOTIFICATION TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES.

5. BASKET II - ECONOMICS.

(KEY ALLIES: UK, FRG, FRANCE)

(A) FOR U.S.:

(1) MINIMAL AND BALANCED TREATMENT OF MFN--(DOCUMENTS D/9 AND D/13) MINIMUM FOCUS OF U.S. ASPECTS (TARIFFS); EQUAL APPLICABILITY TO EC-NINE QUANTITATIVE RESTRICTIONS AND OBSTACLES TO TRADE OF STATE TRADING SYSTEMS.

(B) FOR U.S. AND NATO ALLIES:

(1) FREER ACCESS--(COCUMENTS D/10 AND D/11) COMMITMENT TO IMPROVED CONDITIONS FOR BUSINESS, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONTACTS; BETTER ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON COMMERCIAL AND COOPERATION OPPORTUNITIES.

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FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM SHERER

6. BASKET III - HUMANITARIAN.

(KEY ALLIES: ALL)

(A) FOR U.S. AND NATO ALLIES:

(1) REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES--(TEXT GENEVA 4110) COMMITMENT TO ALLOW FAMILY REUNIFICATION IN THE COUNTRY OF THEIR CHOICE WITHOUT UNDUE OR EXCESSIVE COSTS, LOSS OF PROPERTY, REPERCUSSIONS AGAINST APPLICANTS OR THEIR RELATIVES.

(2) MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES--(DOCUMENT I/22) COMMITMENT TO GIVE PERMITS FOR MARRIAGE, EXIT AND ENTRY FOR MARRIAGE AND SUBSEQUENT DOMICILE, ALL WITHOUT UNDULY BURDENSOME COSTS.

(3) RIGHT TO TRAVEL--(DOCUMENTS I/23 AND I/123 A GOOD STATEMENT ON THE GENERAL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT BETWEEN COUNTRIES.

(4) WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS--(NEW WESTERN TEXT UNDER PREPARATION BASED ON DOCUMENTS J/17 AND J/10) COMMITMENT FOR PROMPT ACTION ON ENTRY AND REENTRY VISAS, RESIDENCE AND INTERNAL TRAVEL PERMITS; PROTECTION AGAINST UNJUSTIFIED EXPULSION; AND THE RIGHT TO TRANSMIT PROMPTLY THE RESULTS OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY.

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(B) FOR NATO ALLIES:

(1) ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION--(TEXT GENEVA 4110) A COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PURCHASE OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF SUBSCRIBING.

(C) FOR FRANCE AND EC-9:

(1) READING ROOMS/LIBRARIES--(TEXT GENEVA 4110) SOME FAVORABLE MENTION OF THIS TOPIC.

7. BASKET IV--FOLLOW-UP BY SEPTEL).

8. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS--IN ADDITION TO THE ESSENTIAL MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS OF OUR ALLIES, THE NEUTRALS HAVE CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS IN CSCE, WHICH FOR PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED. THESE INCLUDE GREATER MILITARY CONTENT, A MORE SUBSTANTIAL MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION AND A REGULARIZED FORM OF POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP. IN ADDITION CERTAIN COUNTRIES HAVE SPECIAL POSITIONS WITH WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO DEAL, SUCH AS THE SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

9. CONCLUSIONS--WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT NATO CONSULTATIONS BE AIMED AT FORMULATING AN AGREED DEFINITION OF ESSENTIALS SIMILAR TO THE ONE OUTLINED ABOVE, AFTER WHICH TEXTS CAN BE DEVELOPED AS NECESSARY IN GENEVA. IN OUR VIEW SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD BE THE MOST USEFUL ONE FROM A NEGOTIATING POINT OF VIEW, AND WOULD LEAVE SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY FOR REALISTIC USE IN CSCE. BREVITY AND RELATIVE FACILITY OF COMPILING SUCH A DOCUMENT MAY ALSO MAKE THIS EXERCISE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO OUR ALLIES.

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